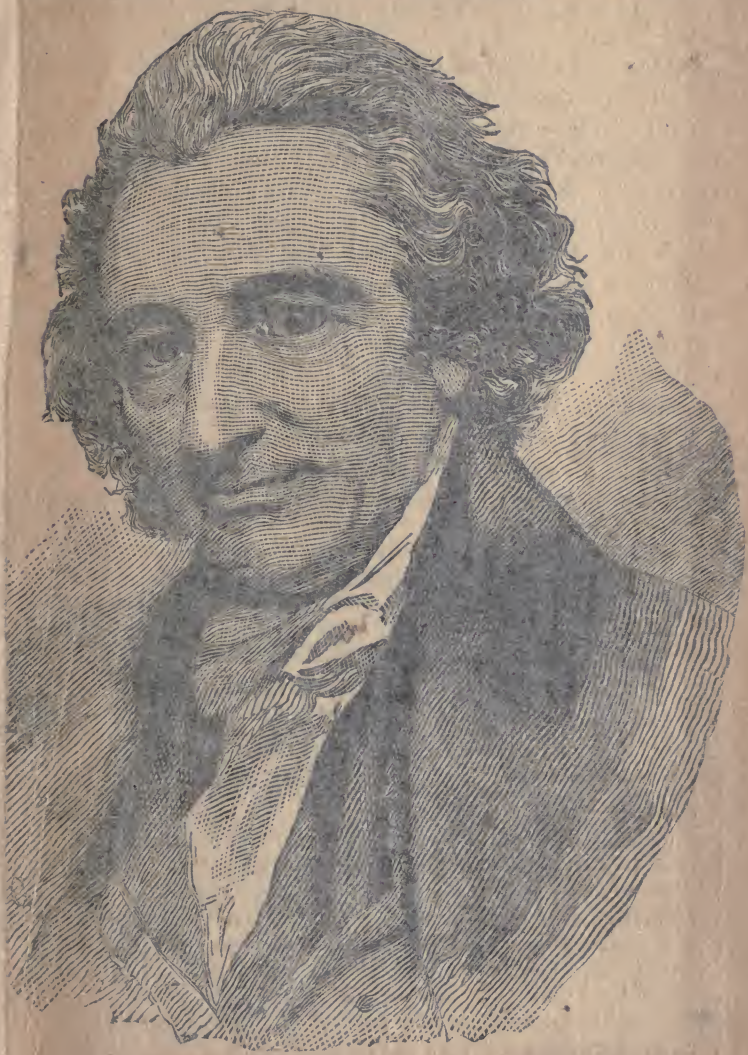
THOMAS PAINE: WAS HE JUNIUS?



PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this pamphlet was issued in 1890, at San Francisco, by the Freethought Publishing Company. The second edition is printed at Washington, D. C., and sold by the *Investigator* (Boston), *Truth Seeker* (New York), *Ironclad Age* (Indianapolis), and other dealers, price ten cents.

If any additional testimony to the peaceful death of Thomas Paine is needed we now have it from Madame Bonnerville, to whom and her two sons, Benjamin and Thomas, he bequeathed the bulk of his estate, valued at $30,000. She left in manuscript a brief biography of her benefactor, which is now published as an appendix to Mr. Conway's Life of Paine. Here is an extract therefrom:

Seeing his end fast approaching I asked him in presence of a friend if he felt satisfied with the treatment he had received at our house, upon which he could only exclaim "O, yes." He added other words, but they were incoherent. It was impossible for me to exert myself to the utmost in taking care of a person to whom I and my children owed so much. He now appeared to have lost all kind of feeling. He spent the night in tranquillity and expired in the morning at 8 o'clock, after a short oppression at my house in Greenwich St., about two miles from the city of New York.

On the 9th of June my son and I and a few of Thomas Paine's friends set off with the corpse to New Rochelle, a place twenty-two miles from New York.

This interment was a scene to affect and to wound any sensible heart. Contemplating who it was, what man it was that we were commiting to an obscure grave on an open and disregarded bit of land, I could not help feeling most acutely. Before the earth was thrown down upon the coffin, I, placing myself at the east end of the grave, said to my son Benjamin, "Stand you there at the other end as a witness for America." Looking behind me and beholding the small group of spectators, I exclaimed as the earth was tumbled into the grave, "Oh, Mr. Paine, my son stands here as testimony of the gratitude of America and I for France!" This was the funeral ceremony of thegreat politician and philosopher.

THOMAS PAINE.

By WILLIAM HENRY BURR.

One hundred years ago Thomas Paine was unknown to the world, and yet for nearly one hundred years his name has been a bugbear. Few people are aware that the man whose pen was as mighty as the sword of Washington in the achievement of American independence, was scarcely known as a writer until more than eight years after the close of the war. In 1791, at the age of fifty-four, he burst forth like a meteor in the literary and political world by the publication of the "Rights of Man," in answer to Edmund Burke's attack on the French Revolution. All through the American war he signed himself "Common Sense," and his only open publication prior to his return to England was a "Dissertation on Government; the Affairs of the Bank and Paper Money," in 1786.

His first acknowledged essay was a "Plea for the Excisemen" in 1772. This was anonymous, and the officers of the excise contributed to pay the expense of publishing four thousand copies.

His next known literary work was a few brilliant contributions for the "Pennsylvania Magazine" in the early part of 1775, signed "Atlanticus." How he happened to write for the magazine is explained by himself in a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated March 4, 1775:

Your countenancing me has obtained for me many friends and much reputation, for which please accept my sincere thanks. I have been applied to by several gentleman to instruct their sons on very advantageous terms to myself, and a printer and bookseller here, a man of reputation and property, Robert Aitkin, has lately attempted a magazine, but having little or no turn that way himself, he has applied to me for assistance. He had not above six hundred subscribers when I first

assisted him. We have now upwards of fifteen hundred, and daily increasing. I have not entered into terms with him. This is only the second number [February]. The first I was not concerned in.

On the tenth of January, 1776, he surprised his friend, Dr. Franklin, by the publication of the revolutionary pamphlet, "Common Sense" which fired the hearts of Americans, and in less than six months led to the Declaration of Independence. The authorship of "Common Sense" was attributed to various statesmen of the time. One edition at least, if not more, was exhausted in a month, and on the nineteenth of February Dr. Franklin, in a letter to General Charles Lee, introducing "the bearer, Mr. Paine," said, "He is the reputed and, I think, the real author of 'Common Sense.'"

And in a later edition is found this postscript to the Introduction:

Who the author of this production is, is wholly unnecessary to the public, as the object for attention is the doctrine, not the man. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say that he is unconnected with any party, and under no sort of influence, public or private, but the influence of reason and principle.

From March, 1775, to January, 1776, no trace of any writing by Paine was found until recently. In October, 1880, I first saw in the Congressional Library an American reprint of an English weekly paper called "The Crisis," twenty-seven numbers, from January 21, 1775, to July 22. The principal object of the publication was to oppose the British ministry in their conduct of affairs, especially in regard to America. The writers were anonymous and audacious. The ablest and principal contributor, beginning in April, 1775, was "Casca." No sooner had I read one of his essays than I detected the writer as Thomas Paine. "Casca" was unknown to the publisher, and was certainly about London from May until near the end of the year 1775.

What caused Paine's sudden return to England? Hostilities had begun in America, and the most pressing need of the colonies was gunpowder. In October, 1775, General Washington had penned up General Howe in Boston, but dared not advance one step, because his men had not five rounds of powder. On the ninth of December, Dr. Franklin sent a letter to M. Dumas, in France, by a Mr. Storey, inclosing one hundred pounds to defray expenses in procuring a shipment of small arms, ammunition and saltpeter. Previously, in the same year, Charles Biddle was sent to France to procure munitions of war, and in January, 1776, he returned with a cargo of saltpeter. Hence, I infer that Paine went first of all on a like mission.

Four days after my discovery that "Casca" was Thomas Paine, I was happy to find that Librarian Spofford had anticipated me, his identification of the writer being based, however, not on the series of papers by "Casca" in "The Crisis" but on a separate publication of a pamphlet entitled, "A Crisis Extraordinary," dated August 9, 1775, and signed "Casca." It was an extra paper, all about General Gage's proclamation of June 12. Taking a text from Horace, *Projecit ampullas*, the writer gave it a free translation thus:

> On souls, of slavery more than death afraid,
> Gage wastes his pardons and his gasconade.

"The Crisis" continued publication until after the Declaration of Independence. "Casca's" last communication was in the paper of April 13, 1776.

On the twenty-third of December, 1776, a little pamphlet was printed in America called "The Crisis," by "Common Sense," written on a drum-head by Thomas Paine, a private in General Washington's army. Many are still familiar with its first words:

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph.

This paper was read in camp to every corporal's guard, and in three days our army won a victory at Trenton. Three weeks later came the second number of "The Crisis," addressed to Lord Howe, and the sixteenth and last of these papers is dated December 9, 1783.

In 1796 fourteen of the sixteen numbers of the American "Crisis" were published in England, and prefixed to them was "Casca's" "Crisis Extraordinary," of August 9, 1775, signed "American C. S.," *i.e.*, "Common Sense." This was such a puzzle to Paine's biographer, Sherwin, in 1819, that he attributed its insertion to the ignorance of the person who furnished the copy. But Librarian Spofford, having detected "Casca" as Paine, made this marginal note in Sherwin's book:

> It is by Paine, but does not belong to the "Crisis."

Mr. Spofford was not yet aware that "Casca," *i.e.*, Paine, wrote not less than thirty articles for "The Crisis" of 1775-6. And as Paine was in France in 1796, it is quite possible that he authorized the English publisher of his American papers, called "The Crisis," to put in as number one "A Crisis Extraordinary," changing the signature from "Casca" to "American C. S."

When Paine returned to England in 1787 he immediately published a pamphlet, entitled "Prospects on the War." It was anonymous. Six years later, when he became known as a writer, so ıe critic detected his authorship of that pamphlet, and it was republished as his work.

Paine's success as a pamphleteer was unprecedented. Not less than one hundred thousand copies of his "Common Sense" were sold in America, and the demand for his "Rights of Man" was much greater. Being now, in 1791, first known as a political and revolutionary writer, he acknowledged himself as the author of "Common Sense." But yet his apparent aversion to personal fame or wish for concealment is shown in the preface to part second of the "Rights of Man," where he says: "Had not Mr. Burke urged the controversy, I had most probably been a silent man."

To counteract the effect of the "Rights of Man," one George Chambers was paid five hundred pounds to write a defamatory life of Paine. It purported to be written by Francis Oldys. Paine at once detected the author, and the only answer he made to the calumnies was, "I wish his own life and that of the cabinet were as good."

Up to this time Paine had never written a word to indicate that he was a skeptic in regard to biblical inspiration, and had he died at the age of fifty-six the world would never have known what his religious views were. For prudential reasons he intended to publish his thoughts on religion as his last offering to the world. But in December, 1793, in hourly expectation of arrest and death by the guillotine, he made haste to prepare a portion of the work. With no Bible at hand he completed the first part of the "Age of Reason," gave the manuscript to Joel Barlow, and in less than six hours he was sent to prison.

During the rest of Paine's life he did not generally seek to conceal his personality. But he continued sometimes to use the signature "Common Sense," or "C. S.," and I have discovered an anonymous pamphlet, unmistakably written by him just after his return to America in 1802. It is a series of articles, first published in the National Intelligencer, in support of Jefferson's administration. The title of the reprint in 1803 is "Plain Sense; or Sketches of Political Frenzy and Federal Folly."

Paine died in New York, June 8, 1809. Five months before his death he made a will directing his burial at New Rochelle, and that on his headstone should be engraved after his name, "Author of 'Common Sense.'" The will concludes as follows:

I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good, and I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my creator God.

Just half a century later, the Rev. Theodore Parker died. He called himself a Theist, but who can define the difference between the Theism of Theodore Parker and the Deism of Thomas Paine? "I believe in one God and no more," said Paine, "and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy." And speaking of Jesus Christ he said: "He was a virtuous and amiable man. The morality that he preached and practiced was of the most benevolent kind."

The worst libel on the character of Paine appeared in 1846, purporting to be a letter written by Bishop Fenwick, who died in that year, to his brother, a Jesuit priest, who died at Georgetown, D. C., in 1827. It describes a scene at the death-bed of Paine, witnessed by two Catholic priests, Fenwick and Kohlman. It is a fabrication. There were two classes of men that Paine hated above all others, to-wit, Scotch tories and Catholic priests. And yet, according to the Fenwick letter, he, a priest twenty-seven years of age, was invited by the dying man to prescribe for him medicinally! The plagiarism of a sentence of thirty-seven words from a letter written by Paine's attending physician, stamps the document a forgery, to say nothing of other abundant evidences. Dr. Manley's description of the dying man's distress, written at the request of Cheetham for his lying biography in 1809, is repeated verbatim in the Fenwick letter, which is without date, and was never heard of until the bishop died, nor will anybody produce the original manuscript. Yet this forged letter has served the purpose of convincing most people that Paine "died a drunken, cowardly, and beastly death," cursing God and denouncing Jesus Christ as "an impostor."

Paine was not a drunkard, and he died a peaceful death. He was annoyed by the visit of two clergymen, Milledollar and Cunningham, one of whom said: "You have now a full view of death; you cannot live long, and whosoever does not believe in the Lord Jesus Christ will assuredly be damned." To this the dying man replied, "Let me have none of your popish stuff. Get away with you. Good morning, good morning." And when they were gone he said to his female nurse, "Don't let them come here again; they trouble me."

Again, within a few hours of his death, he was asked by his physician: "Do you believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ?"

And as Paine made no answer, the doctor repeated the question very earnestly: "Do you believe, or, let me qualify the question, do you wish to believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God?"

After a pause of some minutes he answered, "I have no wish to believe on that subject."

These last words of Paine were drawn forth and reported by his physician, who was a Christian, and they were heard by Paine's landlord, who attended him every day for the last six weeks of his life.

Unfortunately for the memory of Paine his first biographers were malignant and unscrupulous enemies. No true life of Paine was written until he had been dead ten years, and popular writers, who have not ignored him altogether, have generally repeated the falsehoods and calumnies of Oldys and Cheetham, with more recent additions. And it is shocking to find in the recent "History of the People of the United States," by John McMaster, a string of falsehoods, like the following:

1. That Paine was dismissed from the excise in 1774 for a great abuse of trust.

2. That his wife, weary of his abuse and his blows, left him.

3. That in the depths of poverty he turned his steps to London, where Franklin met him, a half-starved Grub-street hack.

4. That he piteously besought Franklin for aid.

5. That being recommended by the great philosopher to go to America, he followed the advice so well suited to his roving disposition.

6. That he had recourse to his pen and speedily became editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine.

7. That in the opinion of Dr. Rush, Paine was penman for the occasion; he therefore waited upon him and urged him to prepare a strong pamphlet recommending separation from England.

8. That the bargain was soon struck; Paine agreed to write the pamphlet, and Dr. Rush agreed to find the publisher, which was no easy matter.

The late Hon. Elizur Wright, after quoting the two paragraphs in McMaster's history containing the above falsehoods, remarked:

> A man exalted from a mercenary Grub-street tramp to the top of the Anglo-Saxon Pantheon in one year! This is rather a miraculous ascent. But the confessed authority for this is Cheetham, the convicted libeler of Paine. It seems a great pity that American history cannot be purged of calumny.

The moral character of Paine, in spite of the many attempts to blacken it, appears to have been without a smirch.

WAS HE JUNIUS?

"For there is nothing hid which shall not be manifested."—Mark iv, 22.

A few of the leading facts in the life of Thomas Paine were presented in my former article, chiefly with a view to his identification as Junius.

His remarkably secretive nature has been sufficiently shown. Junius began to write under other signatures in 1767. Paine was then an exciseman, stationed at Lewes, forty-five miles south of London, but it is an ascertained fact that he spent most of his time in London. The pay of an exciseman was only fifty pounds a year, and it is certain that Paine had other resources during his entire life, which enabled him to do all his literary work without pay.

Junius was an ardent admirer of Grenville, to whom, on the sixth of February, 1768, he wrote a secret letter, signed "C.," inclosing a paper on taxation, and suggesting that no one could place the observations in so advantageous a light as that statesman. The letter closes as follows:

It is not, sir, either necessary or proper to make myself known to you at present. Hereafter I may perhaps claim that honor. In the meantime be assured that it is a voluntary, disinterested attachment to your person, founded on an esteem for your spirit and understanding, which has and will forever engage me in your favor. A number of late publications, falsely attributed to men of far greater talent, may convince you of my zeal, if not of my capacity to serve you.

The only condition which I presume to make with you, is that you will not only not show these papers to anybody, but that you will never mention having received them.

Seven months later, September 3, 1768, "C." wrote again to Grenville as follows:

It may not be improper you should know that the public is entirely mistaken with respect to the author of some late publications in the newspapers. Be assured that he is quite unknown and unconnected. He has attached himself to your cause and to you alone, upon motives which, if he were of consequence enough to give weight to his judgment, would be thought as honorable to you as they are truly satisfactory to himself. At a proper time he will solicit the honor of being known to you. He has at present important reasons for wishing to be concealed.

Some late papers, in which the cause of this country and the defense of your character and measures have been thought not ill maintained; others signed "Lucius," and one or two upon the new commission of trade, with a multitude of others, came from this hand. They have been taken notice of by the public.

The letter closes with an entreaty to keep the communication a secret.

Again, in a third letter, dated October 20, 1768, the writer says:

I beg leave to offer you a letter, reprinted in the inclosed paper, under the signature of "Atticus." It is finished with more care than I have usually time to give to these productions. The town is curious to know the author. Everybody guesses, some are quite certain, and all are mistaken. Some, who bear your character, give it to the Rockinghams (a policy I do not understand), and Mr. Bourke [Edmund Burke] denies it as he would a fact which he wished to have believed.

It may be proper to assure you that no man knows or even suspects the author. I have no connection with any party, except a voluntary attachment to your person. It began in amusement, grew into a habit, was confirmed by a closer attention to your principles and conduct, and is now heated into a passion. The Grand Council (Miscellaneous, No. VII., October 22, 1767) was mine, and I may say with truth, almost everything that for two years past, has attracted the attention of the public.

I am conscious these papers have been very unequal, but you will be candid enough to make allowances for a man who writes absolutely without materials or instruction. . . . Until you are minister, I must not permit myself to think of the honor of being known to you. When that happens you will not find me a needy or troublesome dependant.

George Grenville, first lord of the treasury from 1763 to 1765, died in 1770.

On the twenty-first of January, 1769, this secret writer, "C.," began a series of papers signed Junius, which continued exactly three years, ending January 21, 1772. In less than six months after he began, a surreptitious collection of his letters was published. Annoyed at the printer's errors, he sends to his own publisher, Woodfall, a few corrections and says:

I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper, but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.

A few days later he writes:

I have no manner of objection to your reprinting the letters, if you think it will answer. . . . If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more *errata* (indeed they are innumerable), and perhaps a preface. I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument or to require illustration.

Again, in December, 1769, he writes:

I am now meditating a capital, and, I hope, a final piece.

There were thirty letters of Junius in the year 1769, but in the

next year only six. On the twentieth of June, 1771, having written so far in that year six letters, he sends another, saying:

I am strangely partial to the inclosed. It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this paper, I positively will not write again.

Again, on the eighth of November, he writes:

The above to that Scotchman should be printed conspicuously to-morrow. At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labor.

Chief Justice Mansfield was "that Scotchman" whom Junius hoped in his next and last letter to be able to "pull to the ground."

The knowledge of Junius's intention to write no more had got to the king, and believing that the actor, David Garrick, was the medium of communication, Junius, on the twenty-seventh of November, inclosed another letter to Woodfall addressed to the Duke of Grafton, and in the accompanying private note said:

D. G. has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more.

The letter of Junius to Lord Mansfield did not appear till January 21, 1772, and it was his last, with an appended appeal to Lord Camden.

The private letters of Junius to Woodfall and John Wilkes, were first published in 1812. To Wilkes, September 18, 1771, he says:

I willingly accept of as much of your friendship as you can impart to a man you will assuredly never know. . . . I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate.

And again, on the sixth of November:

No man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned, I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I am never assisted.

In a private letter of Junius to Lord Chatham, dated January 14, 1772, and inclosing a proof-sheet of the letter to Lord Mansfield, Junius says:

Retired and unknown, I live in the shade, and have only a speculative ambition.

And in the dedication of Woodfall's authorized edition of the letters, the author says:

I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.

The secretiveness of Junius is repeated in the life of Paine, and the promise never to disclose the secret of Junius was fulfilled by Paine.

On the twenty-first of January, 1872, exactly one hundred years after the date and publication of the last letter of Junius, the discovery that he was Thomas Paine was first made public in the city of Washington, and the first printed copy of the book containing the proof was exhibited to an audience of forty people. The book, which had been stereotyped several weeks, opens with these words:

> One hundred years ago Junius wrote as follows. . . . Washington, D. C., January 21, 1872.

The writer of this article, who made the announcement, did not hear of the discovery before January 2, 1872, when Joel Moody, Esq., of Kansas, was introduced to him as about to publish a book entitled, "Junius Unmasked; or Thomas Paine the Author of the Letters of Junius and the Declaration of Independence." Mr. Moody did not wish to be known for a while and I voluntarily became god father to the bantling.

One most remarkable characteristic of Junius was his refusal to receive any pay for his work. When Woodfall issued a complete edition of the letters, with a "Dedication to the English Nation," and a preface, both prepared by the unknown author, he tendered to Junius one-half the profits of the book. To this Junius replied as follows:

> What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am above all pecuniary views, and no other person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.

This extraordinary characteristic is strikingly paralleled in Paine. He was never without "a solid, however moderate, independence," and he never received any profit from his literary work. In his "Plea for the Excisemen," published in the same year that Junius completed his work, he says:

> Poverty, in defiance of principle, begets a degree of meanness that will stoop to almost anything.

This parallels with the sentiment expressed in the private letter to Woodfall, that without a moderate independence "no man can be happy, nor even honest."

And in regard to working for profit, "Casca," in The Crisis of May 15, 1775, says:

> These lines, inspired by Churchill's laurel'd shade,
> I write, unknown, unpatronized, unpaid.

And here, by the way, comes in a parallel in Paine's "Crisis"

No. II., addressed "to Lord Howe," and beginning with this couplet:

> What's in the name of lord, that I should fear
> To bring my grievance to the public ear?
>
> CHURCHILL.

But now mark what Paine himself says about writing for profit:

> In a great affair, where the happiness of man is at stake, I love to work for nothing.—(1802).
> I take neither copyright nor profit from anything I publish.—(1807).

His biographer, Gilbert Vale, says there is no other known example of a poor man refusing to receive the profits of his works. Is there an example even of a rich man? Not one writer in a thousand would act thus. But here are two contemporary examples. Multiply one thousand by one thousand and you have a million to one that Paine was Junius.

Another most prominent characteristic of Junius was hatred of the Scotch. For this no parallel was found at first in any of Paine's writings. The expression "Scotch and foreign mercenaries," in the draft of the Declaration of Independence, which so offended two gentleman of that country that it had to be stricken out, was doubtless penned by Paine, for Jefferson had no antipathy to the Scotch. But that kind of evidence was scarcely admissible without other support.

It was not long, however, before a passage was found in Paine's "Prospects on the Rubicon," which showed his strong animosity toward that people. Speaking of the policy of embracing the Scotch in the reign of George III., he said it was justly reprobated, and added:

> The brilliant pen of Junius was drawn forth, but in vain. It enraptured without convincing, and though in the plenitude of its rage it might be said to give elegance to bitterness, yet the policy survived the blast.

This was sufficient proof that Paine, like Junius, hated the Scotch; but then the somewhat embarrassing question arose if Paine was Junius, could he have thus alluded to that writer? There was but faint praise of Junius in the passage, but why should he have mentioned him at all?

In 1881 I discovered that the publication containing this reference to the Scotch and to Junius, was anonymous. When Paine became famous as the author of "Rights of Man," the critics detected his authorship of "Prospects on the War," published in 1787, and it was republished in 1793, entitled "Prospects on the Rubicon," and accredited to Thomas Paine.

The only other allusion to Junius by Paine is in "Casca's" "Epistle to Lord Mansfield," May 13, 1775:

> Should galling Junius make a new attack,
> (Whose lashes still are flagrant on your back),
> The libeller by some state blood-hound trace,
> And make him feel the terrors of your place.

Lord Mansfield was "that Scotchman" whom Junius hoped to "pull to the ground:" and "Casca's" essays abound with severe reflections on the Scotch.

But if more positive proof is needed that Paine hated the Scotch, we have it in Grant Thorburn's "Reminiscences:"

> An old lady from Scotland wished an introduction [to Paine]. Said I, "Mr. Paine, this is Mrs. Bruce, from Scotland." "Scotland!" he repeated, "a country of bigots and fanatics."

Of the forty or more writers on whose behalf a claim has been made to the authorship of the "Letters of Junius," one after another has been set aside until the ablest critics have given up the discovery in despair. The claim for Sir Philip Francis alone has in recent years maintained any degree of stability. On the evidence of handwriting a very plausible case has been made out, sufficient to convince many that he wrote the disguised hand of Junius. Twisleton and Chabot's "Handwriting of Junius" (1871), I never examined until four years ago. But when I did, I soon found positive proof that Francis was not Junius. In a private letter to Woodfall, without date, but certainly written a day or two after November 10, 1769, Junius says:

> I have been out of town these three weeks, and though I got your last could not conveniently answer it.

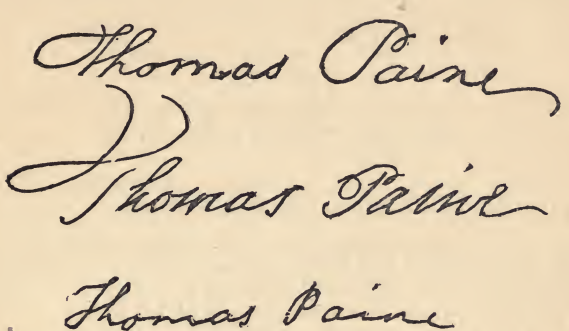
He then requests Woodfall to "reprint a letter in the London Evening Post of last night to the Duke of Grafton." That letter is dated November 10, and is signed "A. B," who was not Junius.

But on the fourth of November, 1769, Philip Francis wrote a letter at his desk in the war office, London, to his brother-in-law in Philadelphia. ("Handwriting of Junius:" Francis, No. 38).

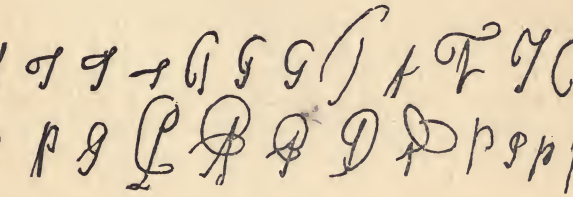
Since my discovery of this alibi I have been happy to learn that not less than half a dozen others have been proved in Notes and Queries.

There are more than three hundred parallels of character, conduct, opinion, style, sentiment, and language between Paine and Junius, and no fact incompatible with their identity has been found. No writer of the time came so near to the style of Junius as Paine, and as a penman he was certainly capable of

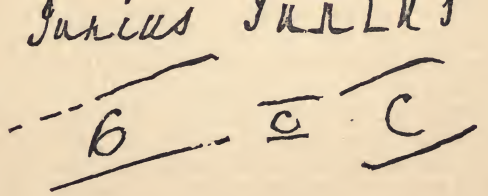
writing the disguised hand of Junius. See how differently he writes his name:

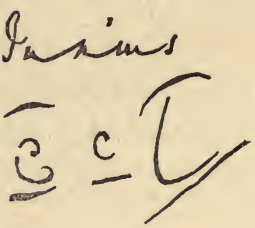


Mark, now, the variations of the letters T and P in the disguised hand of Junius:



Even the signature of Junius is not uniform, and his private mark "C." is much varied;





In Junius's "Dedication to the English Nation," he says:

You are roused at last to a sense of your danger. The remedy will soon be in your power. If Junius lives, you shall often be reminded of it.

Did he not fulfill that promise? Did he not come again as "Casca" in 1775, as "Common Sense" in 1776, and as Thomas Paine in 1791?

Who started the publication of The Crisis in London? Franklin had been insulted at court and was about to leave England forever. Already he had sent Paine to Philadelphia with letters of introduction. But he himself did not embark until three months after the first issue of The Crisis. I believe that Franklin was the only man who detected Junius. Hence in all his writings he never alludes to him. Paine and Franklin were bosom friends, and worked together even when far apart. Without their secret work American independence would not have been achieved. Is it, therefore, any exaggeration to say that Paine and Franklin made this nation?

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

For wronged America let pity cease,
Let all her sons be massacred in peace.
—CASCA'S "Epistle to Lord North," May 20, 1775.

The Newark Gazette of October 5, 1802, contained the following editorial paragraph:

It has long been supposed that Mr. Jefferson drew up the Declaration of Independence. This report was raised to further his election, and the philosopher has thought fit to countenance it. It was thought absolutely necessary to prove that he had done *at least one good act in his life*, and this was pitched upon. Mr. Jefferson was one of a committee of five, indeed, and after they had jointly drawn up the instrument it was given by Congress to a *certain person*, who, above all others, the Democrats would dislike to hear had corrected the writings of Mr. Jefferson, for *revision and amendment*, and it was *from this person it received the* ELEGANT DRESS *it now appears in*.

The italics and small capitals are the editor's own. Who was that "certain person" whose name the editor kindly suppressed, lest it should humiliate his political adversaries? Did Jefferson employ a "certain person" to correct his writings? And did Congress assign to that same person the task of revising and amending the draft of the Declaration reported by the committee of five? And did that "certain person" give to the instrument the "elegant dress it now appears in?"

The fact that the committee appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independence assigned the task to Jefferson does not appear to have been publicly known in 1802. Jefferson himself had not so recorded it in his "notes written on the spot," nor in his letter to the Journal de Paris in 1787, giving a history of the transaction "with precision." That the draft reported by the committee was "generally attributed to Mr. Jefferson," is all that Chief Justice Marshall could say in 1804. But Jefferson himself never claimed that he wrote it until he was eighty years of age. Therefore the public must have been unenlightened as to the authorship of the instrument not only up to 1802, but for many years thereafter; and if Jefferson had died three years earlier than he did, the only evidence that he drew the Declaration of Independence would have been:

1. That the original draft is in his own handwriting.

2. That the task of drawing it was assigned to him by the committee; and

3. That (in his own equivocal words, as recorded in 1821) "It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House."

Twenty-five days after the appearance of the above editorial paragraph in the Newark Gazette, Thomas Paine landed at Baltimore, having sailed from France in a national ship by order of President Jefferson. And Thomas Paine, as I shall undertake to prove, was that "certain person" referred to by the editor of the Newark Gazette.

The very first literary work of Paine after his arrival in 1802 was a series of seven anonymous letters in support of Jefferson's administration, published in the National Intelligencer, signed "Plain Sense," and afterward reprinted in a pamphlet with the following title:

Plain Sense; or Sketches of Political Frenzy and Federal Fraud and Folly. Washington City, 1803.

In Jefferson's works, vol. 1, is a *fac simile* of his own draft of the Declaration of Independence. It is in his own handwriting except four verbal amendments by Franklin and two by Adams. There are many other erasures and interlineations, all in Jefferson's handwriting being amendments made by Congress. The first paragraph of the original draft, as reported by the committee, is as follows:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a people to *advance from that subordination in which they have hitherto remained*, and to assume among the powers of the earth the equal and *independent* station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the *change*.

The italicized words were erased, and other language substituted therefor by Congress.

The second paragraph of the Declaration was amended still more, the original being as follows:

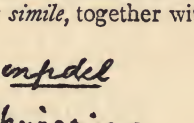
We hold these truths to be *sacred and undeniable*, that all men are created equal *and independent*, that from that *equal creation they derive all* rights *inherent and* inalienable, among *which* are *the preservation of* life *and* liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; etc.

The following paragraph in regard to the slave trade was entirely stricken out:

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who

never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which *he* has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom *he* also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another.

The italicized words are as underscored by Jefferson; two of them I reproduce in *fac simile*, together with a single word which he drew in capitals:



MEN

This paragraph of the Declaration "was struck out," says Jefferson, "in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, wished to continue it." And he adds that the northern people, who had been carriers of slaves to others, may have "felt a little tender under those censures." Why then did Jefferson put it in? Did he not know the state of feeling in regard to slavery before he made the draft? It is true that he, though a slaveholder, deplored the existence of the institution; but he was not so ardent an opponent of it as Thomas Paine.

Speaking of this paragraph in the original draft of the Declaration, Mr. Denslow, author of "Modern Thinkers," says, "The English language possesses no clause more elaborate in its rhetoric;" and he unhesitatingly assigns its composition to Thomas Paine.

Another remarkable passage that was eliminated from the Declaration was as follows:

At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries, to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together, but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is be-

low their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them.

Aside from the eloquence and pathos of this passage, altogether beyond the capacity of Jefferson's pen, there is other evidence to prove that he did not compose it. In referring to it, he said:

When the Declaration of Independence was under the consideration of Congress, there were two or three unlucky expressions in it which gave offense to some members. The words "Scotch and other foreign auxiliaries" excited the ire of a gentleman or two of that country.

Now Jefferson never had any antipathy to the Scotch, but Paine had, and it was so irrepressible that when Grant Thorburn introduced him to a lady from Scotland, he impolitely said, "Scotland! a country of bigots and fanatics!"

But this is not all; Jefferson, as might be expected, in undertaking to quote Paine's draft of the Declaration, mistakes "auxiliaries" for "mercenaries" and interpolates the word "other." "Auxiliaries" is a word that Jefferson might have used, but it is not found in the Declaration. "Mercenaries" is a word that Paine would be quite likely to write, and it occurs twice in the instrument.

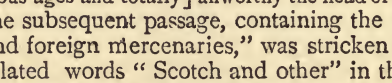
Furthermore, is not the argument of Mr. Denslow in "Modern Thinkers" irresistible, to wit:

Paine, as an Englishman, would look upon the Scotch mercenaries as not foreign, and therefore omitted the word "other." To Jefferson, as an American, auxiliaries coming from Scotland would be foreign, as well as those coming from Germany, or, indeed, England itself. Therefore he inserts the word "other."

And here by the way I find that the word "other" was actually interlined in the draft of the Declaration by Jefferson himself—not, however, in the clause that was stricken out, but in a prior one, where the words "foreign mercenaries" first occur. I quote the whole clause as adopted, with an amendment in brackets, but without the interpolated words "Scotch and other," which appear without erasure in Jefferson's draft:

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, destruction, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy [scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally] unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

When the subsequent passage, containing the offensive words, "Scotch and foreign mercenaries," was stricken out by Congress, the interpolated words "Scotch and other" in this clause should have been erased. And in the engrossed copy they were omitted but in Jefferson's draft they still remain, thus:



Jefferson, as I have remarked, made no claim to the authorship of the Declaration until he was eighty years of age. If Paine drew it, and not only wished to be unknown but was willing to let another have the credit of the performance, Jefferson was nevertheless placed in an embarrassing position. How could he dare, even in notes written on the spot, much less in any public communication, while Paine was living, avow himself the author? Hence in his notes, written on the spot, he says:

A committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independence. The committee were John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livington, and myself. This was reported to the House on Friday, the twenty-eighth of June, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.

Eleven years later, in 1787, he writes to the Journal de Paris, a history of the events, which concludes as follows:

On the twenty-eighth of June the Declaration of Independence was reported to the House and was laid on the table.

In 1809, in answer to a proposal to publish his writings, after mentioning many of them, he says:

I say nothing of numerous drafts of reports, resolutions, declarations, etc., drawn as a member of Congress, or of the legislature of Virginia, such as the Declaration of Independence, report of the money mint of the United States, the act of religious freedom, etc. These having become the acts of public bodies, there can be no personal claim to them.

This was nearly three months after the death of Paine, and yet Jefferson makes no personal claim.

Ten years later he repeats his first account of the transactions, but makes no acknowledgment of authorship.

Two years later, in 1821, he again repeats the history as before, but interpolates a clause as follows:

The committee for drawing the Declaration of Independence desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House on Friday, the twenty-eighth of June.

Here is an indirect acknowledgment. Two years later, in August, 1823, at the age of eighty, he writes: "I consented—I drew it."

Again, in 1825, he says once that he wrote it and once that he drafted it. Paine had been dead sixteen years, and in the next year Jefferson died.

The Declaration of Independence is an epitome of Paine's "Common Sense," which Jefferson certainly did not consult at the time the draft was prepared, for he says:

Whether I had gathered my ideas from reading, I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it.

Of course not, if he had before him a complete draft prepared by Thomas Paine; all he had to do was to copy it in his own hand.

Furthermore, it is a question whether Jefferson had even read "Common Sense;" for in speaking of Paine, he said:

> His "Common Sense" was for a while believed to have been written by Dr. Franklin and published under the borrowed name of Paine, who had come over with him from England.

It is true that the authorship of "Common Sense" was attributed for a time, not only to Dr. Franklin, but to John Adams and others. But Jefferson ought to have known that it was published anonymously. Nor did Paine come over with Franklin; he preceded him six months.

Three years after the first publication of "Common Sense," Paine acknowledged himself before Congress as the writer of several letters published in the newspapers under the title of "Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's Affairs." Paine was then secretary to the committee on foreign affairs, and on motion of a member of Congress was cited to appear and answer whether the articles were written by him. He replied that they were. A motion was then made to expel him from the office of secretary. It was lost. Paine then asked to be heard in his own defense. This was refused, whereupon, rather than remain under censure unheard, he resigned his office. This was in January, 1779; so that from this time he must have been publicly known as the writer "Common Sense," though it does not appear that he made any other public acknowledgment until 1791.

In the conclusion of Paine's "Common Sense," he says:

> Should a manifesto be published and dispatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceful methods which we have ineffectually used for redress, declaring at the same time that not being able any longer to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British Court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her, and at the same time assuring all such courts of our peaceable disposition toward them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them, such a memorial, etc.

Now the Declaration of Independence answers completely to such a manifesto. Passing over the first two paragraphs, introductory to the bill of rights, we have a detailed statement of "the miseries we have endured;" then of "the peaceful methods we have ineffectually used for redress;" then of the reasons for "the necessity of breaking off all connection" with Great Britain. And lastly, in the formal Declaration of Independence is asserted the "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and establish commerce" with other nations.

In spite of the mutilation which the Declaration of Independence underwent in Congress it stands forth as a masterpiece of rhetoric, beyond the ability of Jefferson to produce. Hence, the most eloquent orator of our time is constrained to say:

Certain it is that Jefferson could not have written anything so manly, so striking, so comprehensive, so clear, so convincing, and so faultless in rhetoric and rhythm.

And Mr. Denslow, after an elaborate argument on the question of the authorship of the instrument, says:

Enough! The Declaration of Independence must hereafter be construed as a fabric whose warp and woof were Thomas Paine's.

Jefferson's "Summary View," written in August, 1774, is the best specimen of his composition either before or after 1776; and there are a few passages in it that may be called eloquent. But in that as in the rest of his writings, he frequently violates the rules of rhetoric. The fact is, he was not a rhetorician, and flights of eloquence in his compositions are as rare as billows on a mill-pond. The eloquent and impressive passages of the Declaration are unmistakably in the style of Paine. William Cobbett, who died in 1835, became such an ardent admirer of Paine that in 1819 he dug up his bones and transported them to England, with the avowed intention of having a funeral there worthy of the remains to be reinterred. And this is what he said in his paper, Cobbett's Register, about the authorship of the Declaration:

Jefferson and some others have had the credit of being the authors of the Declaration of Independence of America. Either of them for aught I know, may have written it; but Paine was its author.

There is also evidence that the author of the Declaration wrote the "Letters of Junius." In the third paragraph of the first of those letters, is this sentence:

Let us enter into it with candor and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers, etc.

In the first paragraph of the Declaration is this:

A decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes, etc.

"Decency" and "respect" were favorite words of both Junius and Paine. "The cause of America," said Paine, "made me an author." In the very first letter that can be attributed to the pen of Junius, dated April 28, 1767, and signed "Poplicola," the writer deplores the disposition to "foment discord between the mother country and her colonies." Indeed the cause of America is a frequent theme of Junius. In his famous letter to the king, December 19, 1769, is this passage:

Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for

their king; but if you ever retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point on which they all agree: they equally detest the pageantry of a king and the hypocrisy of a bishop.

So in the draft of the Declaration, we have the following passage, of which only the first thirteen words were allowed to remain:

We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; . . . that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure unassisted by the wealth or strength of Great Britain; that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them; but that submission to their parliament was no part of our Constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited.

The cause of America was the principal theme of "Casca," who was Thomas Paine. In his first letter, dated April 15, 1775, "Casca" says:

Have the Americans ever yet been (though if men they shortly will be) in arms? Have they yet had a prospect of any other terms than such as would make them slaves? . . . They are not destitute of arms already, and they will be supplied with more in spite of our vigilant fleet.

Four days after the date of this letter, or rather of The Crisis containing it, the massacre at Lexington occurred; and I infer that at that time he was either on the ocean, returning to England to procure arms, salt petre and other munitions of war, or had actually arrived in London.

In "Casca's" letter of May 6, 1775, he says, addressing Dr. Johnson:

I once more call America a nation, and a great nation. Too far distant from the mother country to receive from her either immediate or timely assistance on any sudden foreign attack, she must in such a case find succor within herself or perish.

In Paine's "Common Sense," we find the same sentiment elaborated; and in "Casca's" next paragraph the words "common sense" occur, as if foreshadowing his work in America.

If unwarrantable oppression may be resisted upon revolution principles, the tie between England and America is actually dissolved, our protection is withdrawn, our tyrannic sword unsheathed, and common sense proclaims aloud that obedience in America is no more.

"Casca," being in England at this time, had not yet heard of the battle of Lexington, and Paine in his "Common Sense" says:

No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal 19th of April, 1775.

But the subsequent letters of "Casca" all breathe the spirit of American independence. And I maintain that "Casca" was

Junius come again pursuant to the promise made in his "Dedication," to wit: "The remedy will soon be in your power. If Junius lives you shall often be reminded of it." Some of the letters of "Casca," like some of Junius, were not signed, and among these I identify a letter "To the King," June 3, 1775. This was after the news of the massacre at Lexington had reached England, and the letter overflows with the characteristic rage of Junius. I quote the first paragraph:

Sir: Like that fell monster and infernal tyrant, Charles the First, you are determined to deluge the land with innocent blood. Fired with rage at the more than savage barbarity of your mercenary troops, your cursed instruments of slaughter in America, I can no longer keep within the bounds of decency. The breast of every true Englishman must be filled with indignation, and that respect which is due to a king will be lost in a noble zeal for the preservation of our country and fellow subjects.

Here the words "decency" and "respect," which in the first letter of Junius and in the Declaration of Independence are conjoined, are used in near succession. Here also is the expression "mercenary troops," by whom are meant Scotchmen, as appears from "Casca's" previous letter of April 15, where he says:

We shall find it, to our cost, in vain to send English soldiers (none but Scotch will do the business) against English breasts. . . . An English army will not, and a navy cannot destroy the liberties of America.

And in "Casca's Epistle to Lord Mansfield," May 13, 1775, are these lines:

Your clime you change, your sentiments retain;
In Scotchmen treason is an innate stain.

And again:

When harmless lives were lost and Rome was burn'd
Nero, in form, his grateful thanks returned,
Happy to have a cool, obedient Scot
Perform his bloody orders to a jot.

John Wesley's "Calm Address to our American Colonies" was sharply reviewed by "Casca" in several letters, the last of which is dated March 30, 1776. From this I quote the following:

Where is the man of reason and education (except the servile Wesley), who will expose himself to universal derision and contempt by denying this eternal truth: that governments are instituted not for the sake of the governors, but of the governed? Yet, Mr. Wesley in his "Calm Address" (p. 10.) is not ashamed to assert the contrary. He has the ignorance and impudence to tell us that our all—our lives, our liberties, and our property—are, without our consent, at the absolute disposal of king and Parliament. Neither Mansfield nor Johnson ever ventured so far.

In the second paragraph of the Declaration is repeated that "eternal truth" (called "sacred and undeniable" in the original

draft), that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Much more evidence can be adduced to prove that Paine was the author of the Declaration of Independence, but is not this enough?

Did Jefferson, therefore, tell a lie after reaching the age of four-score, when he said, "I consented—I drew it?" Yes, but it was perhaps the whitest lie a statesman ever told. Paine had been dead fourteen years and everybody believed at last that Jefferson drew it. Nor would it have been wise or politic for him to disclose the real author at any time, especially after the publication of Paine's "Age of Reason." But knowing that Paine never wanted to claim the authorship, Jefferson could see no harm in avowing what everybody believed to be his own composition.

With the death of Paine was fulfilled the promise of Junius, who said: "I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me." But the secret of the Declaration of Independence could have died only with Jefferson, who survived Paine seventeen years. Could the "Sage of Monticello" have foreseen that critical science would at last reveal the real author, surely he would never have said, "I drew it."

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

From the New York Sun, August 9, 1892.

There was a meeting at Charlotte, Mecklenburg county, N. C., on May 31, 1775, which passed 20 revolutionary resolutions, but without a word to parallel the Declaration of July 4, 1776. These resolutions were printed in the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13, 1775. On the 30th of June Governor Martin transmitted a copy to the Secretary of State in London, saying:

The minutes of the council held at this place the other day will make the impotence of government here as apparent to your lordship as anything I can set before you. The resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg, which your lordship will find in the enclosed newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of the continent have yet produced. A copy of these resolves was sent off, I am informed, by express to the Congress of Philadelphia as soon as they were passed.

The Governor was rightly informed that a copy of the resolves was sent by express to the Congress at Philadelphia. Furthermore, the resolutions of May 31, 1775, similar to those adopted in other colonies, were printed, in part, at least, in several Northern newspapers of that period.

Whatever impression may have been made upon the Congress by these resolutions, it does not appear to have been enduring. In June, 1819, John Adams was dumbfounded to see in the *Essex Register* an article entitled "Raleigh Register Declaration of Independence," embodying five resolutions purporting to have been adopted at Charlotte, on May 20, 1775, the first three of which were as follows:

Resolved, That whoever directly or indirectly abetted or in any way, form, or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to *America* and to the *inherent and inalienable rights* of man.

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby *dissolve the political bands which have connected* us to the mother country, and hereby *absolve* ourselves *from all allegiance to the British Crown*, and abjure all *political connection*, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Resolved, That we do hereby *declare* ourselves a *free and independent* people; *are, and of right ought to be*, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than

that of our GOD and the *general* government of the *Congress;* to the maintenance of which independence *we* solemnly *pledge to each other our mutual* co-operation, *our lives, our fortunes and our* most *sacred honor.*

The italicised words occur also in the Declaration of July 4, 1776. The word "inherent" was stricken out of the original draft of the Declaration. The words "British Crown" and "are and of right ought to be" were inserted by amendment made in Congress, being taken from a resolution of June 7, offered by Richard Henry Lee.

"How is it possible," said John Adams, in his letter to Thomas Jefferson, "that this paper should have been concealed from me to this day? Had it been communicated to me in the time of it, I know, if you do not, that it would have been printed in every Whig newspaper upon this continent. You know that if I had possessed it I would have made the hall of Congress echo and re-echo with it fifteen (fourteen) months before your Declaration of Independence."

In reply, Jefferson said on July 9, 1819:

And you seem to think it genuine. I believe it spurious. I deem it to be a very unjustifiable quiz, like that of the volcano so minutely related to us as having broken out in North Carolina some half dozen years ago. It appeals to an original book, which is burnt, to Mr. Alexander, who is dead, to a joint letter from Caswell, Hughes and Hooper (members of the Congress of 1775), all dead, to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Dr. Williamson, now probably dead, whose memory did not recollect, in the history he has written of North Carolina (1812), this gigantic step of the county of Mecklenburg. Horry, too, is silent in his history of General Marion, whose scene of action was the country bordering on Mecklenburg; Ramsay, Marshall, Jones, Girardin, Wirt, historians of the adjacent States, all silent. When Mr. Patrick Henry's resolutions, far short of independence, flew like lightning through every paper, and kindled both sides of the Atlantic, this flaming declaration of the same date, of the independence of Mecklenburg county of North Carolina, absolving it from British allegiance and abjuring all political connection with that nation, although sent to Congress, too, is never heard of. It is not known even a 12-month after, when a similar proposition is first made in that body. Armed with this bold example, would not you have addressed our timid brethren in peals of thunder on their tardy fears? Would not every advocate of independence have rung the glories of Mecklenburg county in North Carolina in the ears of the doubting Dickinson and others, who hung so heavily on us?

Six weeks later, on August 21, John Adams expressed his disbelief in the authenticity of the resolutions, saying *Haud credo!*

If Jefferson or Adams had ever known of the presentation to Congress of the resolutions of May 31, 1775, the fact was forgotten in 1819. It was not till 1838 that an old newspaper was discovered by Peter Force, of Washington, containing a part of the resolutions. Afterwards the complete records were procured by George Bancroft from the British archives, and were published in Wheeler's History of North Carolina in 1851.

The authenticity of the resolutions of May 20, 1775, was exploded by Mr. W. H. Burr, of Washington, in the *Sun* on July 4, 1882; and it also appears that President Welling, of the Columbian University, made an elaborate exposure of the fabrication in the "North American Review" for April, 1874. Yet for seventeen years past this mythical Declaration of Independence has been celebrated in North Carolina. Thomas F. Bayard, George H. Pendleton and D. B. Hill have each of them made speeches at these anniversaries.

Mr. Bancroft always avoided the question of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, but now Mr. Conway, in his "Life of Paine," accepts it as probably genuine. A year ago in the *Open Court*, a philosophic weekly journal, he attempted to account for Jefferson's non-recognition of the paper in 1819 by his "feeble memory" and "jealousy concerning the paternity" of the Declaration of 1776. "Feeble memory" indeed! How about the memory of John Adams? And why should Jefferson be jealous respecting the paternity of an instrument whose authorship he had never claimed?

Mr. Conway surmises that the resolutions of May 31, 1775, were the tempered expressions of the "absolute Declaration of Independence" after the "receipt of the tidings from Lexington." The bloodshed at Lexington is recited in the second resolution of May 20. And when it is remembered that May 20, old style, which was not yet obsolete in the colony of North Carolina, was May 31, new style, the mystery of the two dates is solved, and the testimony of Captain Jack in December, 1819, that he was the bearer of the proceedings of May, 1775, to the Congress at Philadelphia in June, 1775, is easily understood. He and all the other witnesses testify to a single meeting in May, 1775, when certain resolutions were adopted, which resolutions we now know were printed in the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13, were transmitted to London by Governor Martin, and conveyed to the Congress at Philadelphia

JUNIUS, CASCA, AND PAINE.

Mr. Conway's "Life of Thomas Paine," in two volumes, 1892, is a good work, despite its numerous errors. He undertakes, in a long foot-note, to upset the theory that Paine was Junius. Every point of his argument had been repeatedly refuted; nevertheless, I proceeded to demolish them once more in the *Investigator*, *Truth Seeker* and *Ironclad Age*. My essay is republished in a sixteen-page pamphlet by the *Truth Seeker*, N. Y., headed "Junius, Casca, Common Sense, and Thomas Paine," price five cents. The last paragraph is as follows:

> Thanks to Mr. Conway for causing me to discover the important fact that on February 5, 1771, the speech of Admiral Saunders in the House of Commons was listened to by Junius, who reappeared in America as Common Sense.

I have since found further evidence of Paine's listening to parliamentary debates. In his treatise on Gunboats, 1807, he says:

> I remember the late Commodore Johnson saying in the British House of Commons at the commencement of the American war that "a single gun in a retired situation, would drive a ship of the line from her moorings."

Turning now to Casca's letter in *The Crisis* of July 8, 1775, I quote as follows:

> I have heard Lord Chatham's manly eloquence rudely drowned by a combined roar of the ministers' majority in the House of Lords. I have heard that great orator answered by ministerial mouths without argument, without sense, without grammar, and without English.

This was "at the commencement of the American war," and Casca was in London, unknown to the publisher of *The Crisis*, as Junius was unknown to the publisher of his letters. And Casca's constant theme was the cause of America.

I must note a singular parallel in these three writers. Junius, using other signatures, applies the epithet "Stalking-horse" to the Earl of Chatham in 1767, and to General Harvey in 1770. Casca in 1775, addressing Lords Bute and Mansfield, speaks of the king as their "stalking-horse." Paine in 1802 taunts the Federalists with pushing forward General Washington, deceased, as their "stalking-horse,"

and in 1803, writing to Samuel Adams in defense of the "Age of Reason," he says: "But all this war-whoop of the pulpit has some concealed object. Religion is not the cause, but is the stalking-horse."

THE SECRET THRIFT OF THOMAS PAINE.

All the biographers of Paine have represented him as distressedly poor. And yet none of them has undertaken to explain the paradox of a very poor man steadfastly refusing to accept the profits on his literary work. I affirm that from the time Paine quit the sea, about 1758, at the age of twenty-one, though his apparent earnings were not half enough to support him economically, he was never without a moderate independence. He certainly was never a beggar, never even a beneficiary, never unable to pay for what he got, never involved in debt, and often a helper of others in distress.

I turn now to "Miscellaneous Letters of Junius," No. xxxii, dated August 19, 1768, signed "Atticus." He says:

> The greatest part of my property having been invested in the funds, I could not help paying some attention to rumors or events by which my fortune may be affected.

The writer goes on to say that in view of an expected fall of the stocks he had converted his consols into real estate. In a subsequent letter he says that what he foretold has happened, and he believes the stocks will go much lower. Several causes are assigned for the depression, the principal one being the disturbance in America. On this point Atticus says:

> I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit must and will produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the legislature, the event will be uncertain; but if we yield to the pretensions of America, there is no farther doubt about the matter. From that moment they become an independent people, they open their trade with the rest of the world, and England is undone.

For the views of Junius on thrift and Paine on poverty, see page 12 of this pamphlet, and for certain proof that Atticus was Junius, see page 10.

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